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James

AN

ANSWER

TO THE

Late King *JAMES*'s

DECLARATION.

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AN ANSWER TO THE Late King *JAMES*'s Declaration TO ALL HIS Pretended SUBJECTS IN THE Kingdom of England,

Dated at *Dublin-Caſtle*, *May* 8. 1689.

Ordered by a Vote of the Right Honourable the Houſe of Commons, to be burnt by the Common-Hangman.

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AN ANSWER TO THE Late King *JAMES*'s Declaration TO ALL HIS Pretended SUBJECTS, &c.

WHEN one reflects upon the continued Conduct of the Late King *James* both before and after his Acceſſion to the Crown, and the diſmal Conſequences thereof to theſe Three Kingdoms, and at laſt to himſelf, I cannot but regret the Fate of thoſe Princes, that abandon their true Intereſt, Reaſon, Conſcience and Honour, to *Jeſuitick* Councils, and enſlave themſelves to a Party, juſtly abominated by the better part of the *Romiſh* Church it ſelf, for their groſs Encroachments upon Religion, Morality, and all

that's Sacred among men. When I look back to the many Tragedies acted by that Fraternity, both in this, and the last Age, scarce a Kingdom or State in *Europe*, where their Villanies have not come up to the utmost reach of depraved Nature: When I call to mind the Horrid Desolations, Murders and Wars, they have been instrumental of, in the most remote parts of the World; witness some Millions of Souls in *Japan*, and other parts of *Asia*, sacrific'd not many Years ago, to their Ambition and Intrigues, under the Notion of propagating the Catholick Faith; I say, when I consider all these things, I am the less surprized with the dismal Effects of their Councils in *England*, since the same Fate attends them every where. But I must confess, That among all the Martyrs to *Loyola*'s Principles, there is none more justly claims our Compassion, than the Late King *James*. To see a Prince, naturally of no bad Temper, imposed upon by these zealous Bigots, to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of His People, contrary to Fundamental Laws, and the most solemn Promises and Oaths, under the false Mask of Piety and Zeal to the Catholick Faith, and at length to find him seduc'd to abandon His Kingdoms, and thereby an absolute necessity put upon the Representatives of the People, to fill up His Throne, vacated by His own Fault, is a Subject that naturally displays the vanity of human Greatness. And I may add, That the unaccountable Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, as it was the Source of a great many Mischiefs among our selves, so what has befallen that King, may be partly imputed to it; for the believing, That without controul he might do what he pleas'd, encourag'd him to take such measures as have brought upon him all

his

his Misfortunes. I cannot but at the ſame time repreſent to my ſelf, with that emotion of mind the affrighted Paſſenger looks back upon the devouring Billows he has lately eſcap'd, the diſmal Scene of Ruin that ſo lately threatned us, and that Abyſs of Miſery we had certainly been plung'd into e're now, if his preſent Majeſty had not opportunely delivered us from the very Jaws of Death and Ruin.

That any of the Proteſtant Perſwaſion at home, ſhould be found Repiners at this mighty Deliverance, is in my humble opinion, an unaccountable piece of Ingratitude and Weakneſs at once; When all the Reformed States abroad, look upon this great Revolution in *Brittain*, as the moſt happy Providence that has appear'd on the Theatre of *Europe* this Century of Years. The late mighty Enterprize of His Majeſty, was the Reſult of the united Conſultations of all the Foreign Proteſtant States and Princes in this part of *Chriſtendom*; who ſetled upon it, as the laſt Caſt of the Dye, for their Religion and Liberty; and with a trembling Expectation, made Vows to Almighty God, for the Succeſs of an Attempt, they wiſely foreſaw, carried in its Womb, the Fate not only of theſe Three Kingdoms, but of all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*.

When Heaven had ſmil'd upon this ſtupendious Attempt, and had beyond the uſual Tract of Providence, vouchſafed us a Deliverance ſcarce equal'd in the Records of Time, Who would have imagin'd that *England* ſhould produce ſuch a ſort of Monſters, as ſeem to be in love with Slavery and Ruin, the neceſſary Conſequences of their Folly? And that there are ſuch a ſort of Men, we have a plain Demonſtration in theſe unhappy Wretches that have ſo induſtriouſly diſpers'd

through this great City, that Paper called, **King** James **His Declaration to all His Loving Subjects in the Kingdom of** England. A Paper, I could have wiſh'd for King *James's* own Honour had been buried in Eternal Oblivion, ſince it contains a heap of Falſities, that was below a Prince to affirm, and which are known to be ſo, by no fewer than the people of Three Kingdoms. In giving my Reflections upon this Declaration, the Reſpect due to one that was lately a Crowned Head, with ſome other juſt motives, obliges me to do it with more reſervedneſs than perhaps ſuch a Paper deſerves; and inſtead of a needleſs expoſing a Prince, that has His Honour too much ſunk already, in the eyes of all *Europe*, I ſhall with all the Calmneſs and Candor poſſible, examine the Declaration it ſelf, without Reflections upon the Prince whoſe it is; and ſhall not omit one ſingle Sentence in it, that can be interpreted even by Himſelf, of any Conſequence.

Thus His Declaration begins, **Altho the many Calumnies and diſmal Stories, by which Our Enemies have endeavoured to render Us and Our Government odious to the World, do now appear to have been advanc'd by them, not only without any ground, but againſt their own certain Knowledg; as is evident by their not daring to attempt the proving theſe Charges to the World, which we cannot but hope, hath open'd the eyes of Our good Subjects, to ſee how they have been impoſed upon by deſigning men, who to promote their own Ambitious Ends, care not what Slavery** they

they reduce Our Kingdoms to. It ſeems King *JAMES* continues in His wonted road, of taking wrong meaſures both of Perſons and Actions, which has been the occaſion of all His Misfortunes. When he talks of his Enemies, that have rendred him and his Government odious to the World, He miſtakes himſelf, if he means thoſe Worthy Patriots, that being weary of his inſupportable Incroachments upon the Religious and Civil Liberties of theſe Nations, did lend a hand, to deliver themſelves and Fellow-ſubjects from a Ruine that ſeem'd almoſt inevitable. But if He had been at the pains to make an impartial Survey of his own Actings, and the pernicious Counſels of a ſort of Men about him, He might eaſily come to know, That His only and real Enemies were thoſe Popiſh Emiſſaries, that valued not how much His Honour ſuffer'd, nor His Crown were indanger'd, if ſo be they might bring about their own hidden Deſigns; and were willing to ſacrifice both Him, and His Intereſts, to their own by-ends Never Prince was ſo unhappy in His Cabinet-Councel as He; and that *falſe light* which led Him to imploy none about Him, with any intimacy of confidence, but thoſe of His own Perſuaſion, prov'd an *Ignis fatuus*, that cheated Him into Paths never trod by any of His Predeceſſors, but to their deſtruction. If He had been ſo happy, as to have continued in His moſt Secret Councels a great many Perſons of the Reform'd Religion, whom He kept at a diſtance, though to amuſe the Nation He allowed them the empty Names of Privy Councellors; He had not brought three Kingdoms to the brink of Ruine, nor upon Himſelf ſo hard a fate. Yet I muſt acknowledge ſome part of the obligation we have

have to theſe Gentlemen, that of late had the ſole conduct of King *JAMES* His Affairs; For in giving Him ſuch Counſels as His greateſt Enemies could have wiſh'd Him, they prov'd the occaſion of our being at this day happy under the Auſpicious Reign of Their Majeſties, being Princes of the ſame Religion and Intereſts with Their People; And we may juſtly ſay, as *Themiſtocles* of old, *We had undoubtedly periſh'd, if we had not periſh'd.* How little is King *James* oblig'd to His Secretary that penn'd this Declaration, ſince he ſo fooliſhly rakes up the Remembrance of thoſe things that made Him and His Government odious to the World, by the names of Calumnies and Stories, which it was ſo much his Maſter's Intereſt to bury in ſilence? Good God! Were the late palpable and barefac'd Incroachments upon the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, but Calumnies? Were the open Violations of Solemn Oaths, Promiſes and Ingagements, but Stories? Does King *JAMES*, or His *French* and *Iriſh* Councellors imagine, that we have ſo ſoon forgot His *Promiſes made in Council* not many hours after His Brother's Death, and his conſpicuous Breaches of them not many months thereafter? Can we allow our ſelves to forget, that all the Truſts both in *Court, Bench, and the Army*, were fill'd up with theſe very Men, whom Reiterated Laws had rendred incapable of them? Was a *Perſon's ſitting at the Council-board*, whoſe very being found in *England* was death by the Law, but a mere Calumny? Can a few months be able to obliterate the Memory of that Affair of *Magdalen Colledge*, one of the moſt open Invaſions of Property that could be? Have we loſt the Remembrance of that Illegal *Eccleſiaſtical Court*, and the Tyrannick Judg.

Judgments paſt therein? Have we not ſeen a *Reverend Prelate* ſuſpended from his Function, merely becauſe he would not do what he could not, that is, for not condemning a man unheard? Have not we ſeen Seven of the *Spiritual Peers* of *England*, ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*, and brought as Criminals to the Bar, for barely repreſenting the Reaſons, why they could not obey an Arbitrary Command, contrary to their Conſcience? Both *England*, and our Neighbouring Nation have too many Reaſons, to remember the Late King *James*'s aſſuming to himſelf an *Arbitrary and Deſpotick Power*, not only to diſpence with Laws, and the firmeſt Conſtitutions, but to act diametrically oppoſite to them. Can King *James*'s Oratory perſuade us, That the continuing to Levy the *Cuſtoms and additional Exciſe*, (which had been only granted during the Late King *Charles*'s Life) before the Parliament could meet to renew this Grant, was but a Calumny? Was the ſtrange Eſſay of *Mahometan Government*, acted at *Taunton* and *Lyme*; and the no leſs ſtrange Proceedings of that Bloody Chief Juſtice, in his Weſtern Circuit, (juſtly term'd *his Campaign*, for it was an open Hoſtility to all Law) for which, and the like Services, he had the reward of the Great Seal, were they all but Stories? We have too good Reaſon not to forget the many Violences committed by the Soldiers of a ſtanding Army in moſt Parts of *England* and *Scotland*, which are the moſt ſevere and inſupportable Invaſions of Property.

Theſe, and ſuch like, with a great many more, were the things that render'd King *James*'s Government juſtly *Odious to the* Britiſh *World*, and made theſe

theſe three Kingdoms groan after Liberty. If ſo grave and Tragick a Subject, could allow it, I could be almoſt tempted to laugh at that Expreſſion in the Declaration, of his Enemies not daring to attempt the proving theſe Charges to the World; which is all one, as if a Man in the ſevereſt fit of the Gout, ſhould be deſir'd to prove that he is ſo, when the Senſe of the Pain proves too ſad a remembrancer of his Diſtemper. And indeed, this part of King *James*'s Declaration merits no other anſwer, than that of the *Philoſopher*, to him who deni'd motion, When making a ſtep up and down the Room, he vouchſafed him no other Refutation of his Ridiculous Aſſertion, than theſe two words, *hicne Motus?* In fine, It will be equally impoſſible to perſuade the World, that theſe Actions, that render'd King *James*'s Government *Odious to the World*, were but Calumnies and Stories, as to perſuade a Man upon the Rack, that he feels no pain. How unluckily have the Penners of this Declaration, ſtumbled upon that Expreſſion, **of his Enemies not caring what Slavery they reduce the Kingdoms to?** *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* That King *James* had in a great meaſure, enſlav'd theſe Nations, and was upon the Ripening his deſigns, in Conjunction with *Lewis* the 14*th*, to teach us a *French kind of Subjection*, has appear'd in legible Characters, by the whole Scheme of his Actings: But, ſince his preſent Majeſties Acceſſion to the Throne, there is not the leaſt footſtep of Slavery left us; we are bleſt with a King that takes the Advice of his Parliament, and owns no diſtinct Intereſt from that of his People; a Prince, who to deliver us from Popery,

pery and Slavery, has ventur'd his *All*, and who by his Conduct at home, and his Allies abroad, is capable to render us happy, if our own Diviſions and Folly do not precipitate us into an inevitable and unpitied Ruin.

In the next place, King *James* tells us, **That ſince his Arrival in** Ireland, **the Defence of his Proteſtant Subjects** (as he calls them) **their Religion, Privileges and Properties, is eſpecially his Care, with the Recovery of his own Rights. And to this end, he has preferr'd ſuch of them, of whoſe Loyalty and Affection he is ſatisfied, to places both of the higheſt Honour and Truſt about his Perſon, as well as in his Army.** The reading of theſe Lines, puts me in mind of the Parallel ſo exactly obſerv'd betwixt the *French* King, and King *James*, in all their Conduct, and particularly in both their way of aſſerting the calm Methods us'd by them towards their Proteſtant Subjects. When that *Common Enemy of the Chriſtian Part of* Europe (as the preſent Pope was pleaſed to call him) had outdone all the *Nero's*, and *Julian's* of old, in the art of Perſecution, and had render'd himſelf abominated to the World, by the Cruelties committed by his Dragoon Miſſioners upon thoſe very People that had done him the beſt Offices, and preſerved the Crown upon his Head in his Minority; yet at the very ſame time, *Lewis* the 14*th*, and his Miniſters, have had the Impudence to affirm, That no other Methods were

us'd to convert theſe poor Victims, but thoſe of fair Perſuaſion and Calmneſs. Juſt ſo King *James*, that he may follow as near his Copy as poſſible, having ſince his Arrival in *Ireland*, abandoned the Proteſtants of that Country to the mercileſs Rage of an Enemy irreconcilable, from both a Principle of Religion and Civil Intereſt, who within his View have laid deſolate whole Counties, and acted Barbarities proper only to themſelves, and their *French* Confederates; and by which they have forc'd away a great many Thouſands from their Country, at the point of Starving, having ſav'd nothing of their Fortunes from ſo univerſal a Calamity. Yet, notwithſtanding all this appears in the Face of the Sun, King *James*, that he may not come ſhort of his Patron, boldly affirms, That the Religion, Priviledges and Properties of his Proteſtant Subjects (as he names them) are his chiefeſt Care over and above. What a groſs Contradiction is it to common Senſe and Reaſon, that a Prince bigotted to the *Romiſh* Religion, and enſlav'd to Jeſuitick Councils, ſhould make that Religion, which in his Opinion, is an *execrable Hereſy*, become his *equal Care*, with what he calls the *Recovery of his Right*? Sure I am, in this Expreſſion he has mightily overacted his part, and nothing but a belief capable to receive *Tranſubſtantiation*, can be perſuaded of the fair meaning of it. If the Propoſition could poſſibly admit of a favourable Conſtruction, then it muſt neceſſarily follow, That King *James* is of another Communion than that of *Rome*, which were

were a great injury done him to ſuppoſe, ſeeing he has given us ſuch convincing Proofs to the contrary: For every *Roman* Catholick is obliged to look upon the Proteſtants as *Hereticks*, and their Religion as *Hereſy*; and we have once every year the *imaginary Succeſſor of Saint* Peter, formally Curſing us in Perſon; and from his plenary Power, declaring us to be fallen from all our Civil Rights. If King *James* had ſaid, The Proteſtants are his Care, meaning the Converſion of them to his Religion by the calm methods of a Dragoon Miſſion, he would have found no great difficulty to have been believ'd. But to affirm that, **That peſtilent Northern Hereſie**, the Proteſtant Religion, **was his care**, is, indeed a ſtretch beyond the ordinary pitch of Jeſuitick Equivocation it ſelf. We have had occaſion enough to be acquainted with the Charity of the Church of *Rome*, towards thoſe of our Religion; It has been both fervent and burning: And leſt we ſhould forget what has been done in former Ages, *France* and *Savoy* have of late ſet before us new inſtances of the Charity of that Church. No doubt King *James*'s ſincerity in this aſſertion, **is** the ſame with that of all his Promiſes: And, albeit when he was upon the Throne, we were told in ſome of his *Proclamations*, That we were bound to obey **without reſerve**; it's hardſhip upon hardſhip to be oblig'd, now when he is juſtly Abdicated, to **believe without reſerve.**

in His first Speech to His *Mock-Parliament*, consisting all of Papists (except about Five or Six) *May* 7. he assures them, *He would consent to the enacting such Laws as might relieve them of the Act of Settlement.* And *May* 10. we find it moved in the House, *That nothing could be more advantageous to the King and Countrey, than to destroy the horrid barbarous Act of Settlement; and whosoever shall alledg the contrary, shall be deem'd an Enemy to both.* Thereafter we find it mov'd by one of the *Worthy Members* of that Parliament, *That the Act of Settlement should be publickly burnt by the Common Hangman.* Behold the transcendent Care of King *JAMES* for the Priviledges and Properties of the Protestants of *Ireland*! His accustomed Zeal obliges him at the first meeting of His *Packt-up Popish Parliament*, to put them in mind of the best methods to Repeal the *Great Security of the Protestants Estates.* His impatience to have this done, could not stay till it had been propos'd by any of the Members themselves; He must needs demonstrate his tenderness to his *belov'd Irish*, by leading them the way how to break off the *English* Yoak, and make an inroad upon those Properties the Protestants had acquired at the expence of their Blood. As I intimated before, it was ever the Maxim of *English* Policy, to bridle in the unwearied Attempts of the *Irish*, for regaining their Countrey, by a good standing Army in that Kingdom, consisting of Protestants: But here we have another Testimony of King *JAMES*'s Care of the Protestants, in His turning out of all Places

ces in the Army, thoſe of that Perſuaſion, to make room for others of his own Religion. It was the Policy of all Nations to keep the People they had conquer'd, in as great ignorance of the *Art of War*, as poſſible, leſt ſometime or other they might ſhake off their Yoke, by a vigorous Rebellion. But King *JAMES* inclin'd to take other meaſures, and be at the greateſt pains to teach an *indocible Nation* the uſe of Arms, that they might learn in due time to ſhake off the *Engliſh* Government.

As to the other part of the above-mentioned Aſſertion, **That he had advanced ſeveral of the Proteſtants in** Ireland, **to Places both of the higheſt Honour and Truſt about His Perſon, as well as in His Army.**

To paſs a juſt judgment upon this Aſſertion, we need only conſider What ſort of Perſons are at preſent about King *JAMES* both in *Civil and Military Capacities*, and we ſhall find it hard to meet with one ſingle Perſon of the Proteſtant Perſuaſion in the number. I could heartily wiſh, that all King *JAMES* His Actions could as eaſily admit an excuſe as this; For the Authority aſſum'd upon Him by *Monſieur d'Avaux*, and His other *French Guardians*, puts it almoſt beyond His Power to employ *Engliſh Roman Catholicks*, far leſs *Engliſh Proteſtants*. At *the Council-board* we find none of the Proteſtants. The Offices of *Lord Lieutenant*, *Chancellor*, *Privy Seal*, *Secretary*

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But, that we may the easier be perswaded of King *James*'s care of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and their Properties, let us take a short glance of the great favours he has bestowed on them, since his Arrival there. One would think, that a Man's *Estate, his House, Furniture, his Arms, Money, Chattels, and the like*, were included under the word **Property**: King *James* his care has been so transcendently great of this sort of Property, that there are at this day, in *England* and the Neighbouring Nations, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Tradesmen, whose Estates, seiz'd upon by King *James*'s Order, amounts to more than Four Millions of Pounds *Sterling*: If any doubt the Truth of this, I refer them to the List and Account, taken of the *Irish* Protestants by the Commissioners appointed by the King for that effect. Neither is there, at present, one single Protestant within that Kingdom, that can rationally assure himself of one moments possession of what the Barbarous *Irish* has left them yet undestroyed. Who knows not, That upon weighty Reasons, the Wisdom of the Kings of *England* thought it very dangerous to trust the Natives of *Ireland* with Arms, knowing from many funest Experiences, they were a People impatient of the *English Yoake*, and ready to accept all occasions to throw it off. But King *James* treads quite another Path; instead of dis-arming these his *darling Wild Irish*, they are the only People he can trust, as knowing their furious Zeal to His Religion, and their Hereditary hatred to the

the *Engliſh* Nation, renders them fit Inſtruments, to execute the Deſigns concerted betwixt Him, and his Intimate Allie, the *French* King: And, which, to capacitate them the better to effectuate, he has wiſely diſ-armed beforehand, the whole Proteſtants of that Kingdom, and prepared them ready Victims for their Bloody Enemies, when ever it ſhall be time to give the Blow. I confeſs, it requires the greateſt ſtock of patience, to hear one boldly affirm his Care of my Life, and at the ſame time to ſee him give me up, bound and defenceleſs, into the Hands of my cruel and mortal Enemies.

There is another tranſcendent Inſtance of King *JAMES's* **Care of the Proteſtants in** Ireland, **their Religion, and Property,** which merits to be engraven in *Corinthian* Braſs, to Poſterity. All that are in the leaſt acquainted with the Laws and Affairs of that Kingdom, know, That the *Act of Settlement* is the great Security of the Proteſtants, their Religion, and Properties, and the Fundamental Right they have to their Eſtates, conquer'd from the Rebellious *Iriſh*, at the expence of their Blood and Treaſure. By this *Act*, the *laſting Landmarks* are fixt among the Proteſtants themſelves, and between them and the Natives. This is indeed the *Magna Charta* of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, and the true *Baſis* of their Liberties and Properties; upon the taking away of which, the Superſtructure muſt tumble to the ground. Now King *JAMES's Care of the Proteſtants* is of ſo high a nature, that

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in His first Speech to His *Mock-Parliament*, consisting all of Papists (except about Five or Six) *May* 7. he assures them, *He would consent to the enacting such Laws as might relieve them of the Act of Settlement.* And *May* 10. we find it moved in the House, *That nothing could be more advantageous to the King and Countrey, than to destroy the horrid barbarous Act of Settlement; and whosoever shall alledg the contrary, shall be deem'd an Enemy to both.* Thereafter we find it mov'd by one of the *Worthy Members* of that Parliament, *That the Act of Settlement should be publickly burnt by the Common Hangman.* Behold the transcendent Care of King *JAMES* for the Priviledges and Properties of the Protestants of *Ireland*! His accustomed Zeal obliges him at the first meeting of His *Packt-up Popish Parliament*, to put them in mind of the best methods to Repeal the *Great Security of the Protestants Estates.* His impatience to have this done, could not stay till it had been propos'd by any of the Members themselves; He must needs demonstrate his tenderness to his *belov'd Irish*, by leading them the way how to break off the *English* Yoak, and make an inroad upon those Properties the Protestants had acquired at the expence of their Blood. As I intimated before, it was ever the Maxim of *English* Policy, to bridle in the unwearied Attempts of the *Irish*, for regaining their Countrey, by a good standing Army in that Kingdom, consisting of Protestants: But here we have another Testimony of King *JAMES*'s Care of the Protestants, in His turning out of all Pla-

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of State, Commissioners of the Treasury, Lord Chief Justice, Sollicitor General, Attorney General, and all the Places of the Long Robe, are enjoy'd by Roman Catholicks. As to Military Capacities, there is not one single *Garison, Fort, nor Castle* within the whole Kingdom, except *London-derry* and *Iniskilling*, but are fill'd up with both Popish Governors, Officers and Soldiers. In the Army, all the Field Officers are either *French*, or Native *Irish* of the same Religion: Yea, the *French's* absoluteness both at the Council-board and the Army, has of late given the greatest Jealousie and Discontent to some that have done King *JAMES* the best service.

In the end of this first Paragraph we are told, That King *JAMES*, **by granting His Royal Protection to such, whose minds were shaken by the Arts of His Rebellious Subjects, has dispell'd their Apprehensions, and effectually secur'd them against the Attempts even of their private Enemies.** And then adds, **His ears have been always open to their just Complaints: And so far has His Royal Mercy been extented to those that were in Arms against Him, that He has actually pardon'd several hundreds of them, and most notorious Criminals are kept in an easie Confinement.** In reading this Period, I find King *JAMES* would impose upon our Belief and Senses something as much contradictory to it self, as *Transubstantiation*; and the one as hard to be digested as the other.

The

The Church of *Rome* tells us magiſterially, That albeit our Seeing, Feeling, Smelling, and Taſte, combine together, to aſſure us, that the Bread and Wine is *really ſuch*, yet we muſt not give credit to theſe fallible Senſes of ours; but take it upon truſt, from the Church, That what our Senſes tell us to be Bread and Wine, is quite another thing; and that there is nothing there left of any ſuch Elements, after once the Prieſt has mumbled over *the three Words*. Thus, King *James*, having long accuſtomed himſelf to an *Arbitrary Power* over our Perſons and Properties, when King; He cannot refrain from venturing an Eſſay of it upon our Reaſon and Senſes, even when he is laid aſide: For, albeit our Senſes are continually entertained with hundreds of Objects, that bear in upon our Reaſon, a certain Perſwaſion that the poor Proteſtants of *Ireland*, are every day flying away from that Country, at any rate, to avoid the many Barbarities exerciſed upon them; and that that Kingdom is become the Scene of Miſery and Diſſolution; yet King *James* would have us wiſely lay aſide theſe mean helps of Senſe and Reaſon, and *take it upon his bare Word*, that there is no ſuch thing; which I think very few will be inclinable to do. If what is aſſerted upon this ſubject be true, and conſequently our Senſes and Reaſon ſo ſtrangely beguiled, it neceſſarily behoves us to paſs no milder Judgment upon thoſe Noblemen, Biſhops, Gentlemen, and Perſons of all ranks, that have left their Country, ſince King *James*'s arrival there, but that they are *quite out of their Wits*: For what better Name can be given to Perſons that have left their Country, Eſtates, and Employments, to become here the *greateſt Objects of Charity*, when not only they might have been ſafe at home, but *ſecured*

against the attempts of their private Enemies? In this Word *private Enemies*, we are obliged to King *James*'s Secretary (whether out of Ignorance, or Design, I know not) for a fairly insinuated distinction of the Protestants in *Ireland*, their *private* and *publick Enemies*. We know that all *Roman* Catholicks are tyed, by the dictates of their Church, to be Enemies to the Protestants; and to extirpate them, when it comes in their power: And this, as flowing from a publick interest of Religion, may justly be termed a *publick Enmity*: But the Natives of *Ireland*, over and above that publick quarrel of Religion, have a private one of Revenge, for recovering from the Protestants their Lands acquired by the Sword; and no age has passed since the Conquest of *Ireland*, but what has afforded bloody proofs of the revengeful Spirit of that People, upon this score. If *free quartering, plundering, robbing, disarming, seizing on Estates, imprisoning, murdering in cold Blood*, and the like, *be a securing these poor Protestants against their private Enemies*, they have no reason to complain of King *James* his Conduct: But, alas! to be ruin'd, and in the mean time to see the Authors of it boldly affirm, that they do us all the Offices of Kindness, is the hardest of fates. I would fain know where are these hundreds that he has pardoned; for those that flee every day from that unhappy Countrey, cannot instance us a single one of them: And for these that are kept in such *easie confinements*, their condition, of all Men, is most deplorable, seeing they lie at the Mercy of an Enemy, that waits but for a favourable juncture, to Sacrifice them to their Revenge. What sort of *securing*, the Protestants of *Ireland* meet with, against their *private Enemies*; and what is the ordinary effect of *Protections* given

given to theſe poor credulous People, will appear by this one inſtance, among thouſands of others, of a Protection given to a Farmer, in the County of *Antrim*, in theſe Words, *I* Richard Hamilton, *Lieutenant-General of his Majeſties Forces in* Ulſter, *do hereby receive into his Majeſty's Protection, the Body and Goods of* James Hunter, *of* Bullymenach, *in the County of* Antrim, *Yeoman; and do promiſe and oblige my ſelf, that none of the Army ſhall moleſt and hurt him, or take any thing from him. Given*, &c. The poor *protected Man*, thus noos'd, returns to his Houſe, and follows his labour; but anon, down comes upon him the Rabble of the Army, like an inundation of *Goths* and *Vandals*; ſweep all before them, and leaves nothing behind them, but a *ſtarving Family*. The wretched Man making his addreſs to *Hamilton*, receive this cold anſwer; *I promiſed to protect you from the Army, but I have no power to reſtrain the Rabble.*

In the beginning of the ſecond Paragraph, we are told **of the Care King** James **has taken of the Church** of England, **that they be not diſturbed in the exercise of their Religion, and poſſeſſion of their Benefices; and that all Protestant Diſſenters enjoy Liberty of their Conſciences, without the leaſt moleſtation. And out of his Royal Care for the proſperity of his People** (as he calls them) **he has recommended to his Parliament, as the firſt thing neceſſary to be diſpatched, to ſette ſuch a ſecurity and Liberty, both in Spiritual and Temporal Matters, as may put an end to theſe Diviſions, which has been the ſource of all their Miſeries; being reſolved, as much as in him lies, to entail Liberty and happineſs on his People ſo far, as**

to put it out of the power of his Successors, to invade the one, or infringe the other: And this, he takes God to witness, was always his design. The first part of this long period, is but a repetition of what had been formerly said, in the first Paragraph, *of the Protestants, their Religion, Privileges, and Properties being his chief Care*; and what truth, that can bear, we have shewed already. There is one thing, that I find King *James* was ever inclinable to value himself upon, and which he here likewise mentions; *I mean, his tenderness to Protestant Dissenters*, and his Principle for *Liberty of Conscience*. They are very thick sighted, that could not discern what lay at the bottom of this Liberty, and what could be the true motive that should have induced one of King *James*'s Religion to do it? But because he has been at the pains, so often, during his Reign, to assure us, That it was his Opinion Conscience should not be constrained, nor People forced in Matters of Religion; and particularly in his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, dated *August* 4. 1687. I'll beg leave to say, That in this, King *James* is no obedient Son of the Church of *Rome*; for it has, over, and over again, decreed the *extirpation of Heretick*s: It encourages Princes to it, by the offer of the Pardon of their Sins: It threatens them to it, by denouncing to them not only the Judgments of God, but that which is often more sensible, the loss of their Dominions. It's true, *Bellarmine* tells us, *The Church does not always execute her power of deposing Heretical Princes, though she always retains it*; and he gives a very good reason for it, *because she is not at all times in a capacity to put it in Execution*: So the very same Reason, might have made it unadviseable to King *James*, when he was so liberal of his Tole-

rations,

rations, to extirpate Hereſie, becauſe it could not be then eaſily done: But we ſee the Right remains intire, and is put in execution, in ſuch an unrelenting manner, in our neighbouring Countries, that it has a very ill Grace, to ſee any Member of that Church pretend to be againſt *conſtraining the Conſcience*, in point of Religion: And when we conſider, that neither the Policy and true Intereſt of *France*, nor the greatneſs of their Monarch, could withſtand theſe bloody Counſels, that are indeed parts of that Religion; I could never ſee any reaſon to induce us to believe, that the late Tolerations of Religion were propoſed with any other deſign, but either to divide the Proteſtants among themſelves, or to lay them aſleep, till it was time to give the alarm for deſtroying them. And that, in the Opinion of that Church, the Glory of extirpating Hereſie, is valued above all other great Actions, we have a remarkable inſtance in that famous Harangue, made by the Biſhop of *Valence*, to the *French King*, in the Name of the *Convention of the* French *Clergy at St.* Germane, in *June* 1684. where that Prelate having recounted the *innumerable Converſions made by that Kings Orders, Cares, and Liberalities*, to uſe his very Words; he ſubſumes thus: *Je bien même, que ſe chercherois vainement dans les ſicoles paſſés, que l'appellerois vainement a mon ſecours, touts les éloges des primiers, et des plus ſaints Empereurs. It were*, ſays he, *in vain to ſearch into the Ages paſt; It were in vain to call to my aſſiſtance all the Panegyricks of the firſt and holieſt of the Emperours*: And afterwards he treats him with the Title of the *Great Reſtorer of the Faith, and extirpator of Hereſie*; and tells him, that *theſe infinitely ſurmount all his other glorious Titles.* And then, ſpeaking of his Maſters great Victories in *Germany, Flanders,*

Flanders, &c. and the Peace of *Nimiguen*, made upon the back of them, he concludes thus: *That the Fruit, which the King had received by that Peace, made it fully apparent, what was the principal end he aim'd at, in his Victories*; meaning, *the Extirpation of Hereticks.* The late King *James*, has always copied ſo fair after *Louis le Grand*, That we have no Reaſon to queſtion, but in this ſo glorious a work, of *extirpating Hereſie*, he would have come up to the Original, if his Deſigns, and a favourable juncture of time had concurr'd together.

When he tells us, **That the firſt thing he has recommended to his parliament, is, to ſettle ſuch a Security and Liberty, as may put an end to theſe Diviſions, which have been the ſource of all our miſeries**, I find the greateſt exactneſs of Truth, in theſe Words, if we but take them in the ſence and meaning of the Speaker, *viz.* a *Roman Catholick* Prince: For, albeit we all know, that the firſt thing recommended by King *James*, to his *Iriſh* Parliament, was, The repealing the *Act of Setlement*; which is, indeed, the great Charter, by which moſt of the Proteſtants enjoy their Eſtates: And tho' the deſtroying that *Act*, gives a mortal blow to the Proteſtant Intereſt in *Ireland*; yet, according to the native Principles of King *James* his Religion, the repealing of this *Act of Setlement*, may well be called, **The ſetling a Security, that may put an end to their Diviſions, which has been the ſource of all our Miſeries**: That is to ſay, King *James*, from a Principle of Religion, is reſolved to remove that *Barrier*, that protects the Proteſtants of *Ireland*, in their Separation from the Church of *Rome*; That by its removal, he may be in a capacity conform to the Holy Dictates of that Church, and the

the laudable Example of *Lewis* XIV. to put an end to all Diviſions in point of Religion, by forcing them to return to the Mother-Church, by *the calm Methods* of late, ſo happily uſed in *France*. And this, I am very inclinable to believe, he may, with a ſafe Conſcience, *take God to Witneſs, was always his Deſign.* I am ſomething ſurprized to hear King *James* his Secretaries, pop out their Maſter's ſecret Deſigns, that were ſo much his Intereſt to conceal; but the Truth is, we knew them before, to our Coſt; and we hope, are on the way, to be ſufficiently ſecured againſt any further Effects of them.

In the end of this Paragraph, we are told, **That ſeveral Proteſtants, are now returned to their Country and Habitations; and that more would follow, if the Ports were open: But the Uſurpers,** (as he pleaſes to call their preſent Majeſties) **know too well the Sincerity of his intentions, to permit a free Paſſage for them.** This, indeed, is all of a piece with the reſt. We are Witneſſes, every Day, of hundreds of poor Proteſtants of that Country, graſping every Opportunity, they can at any rate purchaſe, to abandon their Homes, and all that's dear to them, that they may but eſcape with their Lives: And I defie any of King *James* his Friends, to inſtance me one ſingle Perſon, *of any Condition*, that have dared to return Home, ſince his Arrival in *Ireland*; none of them being ſo far in love with Deſtruction, as to venture on his Protection. In this *Epithet*, King *James* is pleaſed to beſtow on their Majeſties, he imitates his Patron, *Louis le Grand*; who, I confeſs, has the greateſt Reaſon of Hatred againſt his Majeſty, as being the *great Supporter of the Liberty of* Europe; and who, in conjunction with his Allies, is beſt able to bring to Reaſon

that

that *inſupportable Enemy* of *Chriſtendom*; yea, of Mankind it ſelf. It were an impertinent piece of Boldneſs, or rather, unpardonable Impudence, to offer to vindicate their Majeſties from that injurious Deſignation; ſince the Wiſdom and Power of the Parliament, is paramount to all private aſſertions of their Majeſties juſt Right: And that the moſt, if not all the Crowned Heads, and Soveraign Princes, and States of *Europe*, not only rank our preſent King, among the beſt and greateſt Kings of *England*; but promiſe to themſelves, from his Aſſiſtance, to bridle *Louis le Grand* within his proper *Boundaries*. It was ever looked upon as a Principle of common Law; That an Heir in *Remainder*, has juſt Cauſe to ſue him that is in Poſſeſſion, if he makes *Waſtes* on the Inheritance that belongs to him in Reverſion. That the Heir of a Crown ſhould interpoſe, when he ſees him that is in Poſſeſſion, hurried on by bad Counſels, to ſubject an independant Kingdom, to a Foreign Juriſdiction, is much more reaſonable, ſince the thing is of much more Importance; and that this was King *James* his Caſe, is apparent, by the Tranſactions of the Earl of *Caſtlemain* at the Court of *Rome*; and the rather, that by a great many Statutes, it was Treaſon to have Correſpondence with that See: This joined to the ſetting up of a pretended Heir, in ſuch a manner, as the whole Kingdom believed him ſuppoſititious, was a juſt and lawful Ground for one *Sovereign Prince* (ſuch as his Majeſty was when Prince of *Orange*) to make War againſt another, that had ſo abuſed his Power; and 'tis an unqueſtionable Maxim among Lawyers, *That the Succeſs of a juſt War, gives a lawful Title to that which is acquired in the Progreſs of it.* Therefore, King *James* having ſo far ſunk in the War, that he both abandoned his People, and deſerted the Government,

Government, all his Right and Title to the Crown did thereupon accrue to his preſent Majeſty, in the *Right* of *Conqueſt*: So that he might have lawfully then aſſumed the Crown: But his preſent Majeſty choſe rather to leave the Matter to the determination of the Peers and Repreſentatives of the People, aſſembled with all Freedom in the Convention, who did thereupon declare him King; ſo that, tho' he was veſted with a juſt Title of Conqueſt, he choſe rather to receive the Crown by their Declaration, than to hold it in the Right of his Sword. This I thought fit to ſay, not ſo much for Confutation of the injury done their Majeſties in the above-mentioned Deſignation, which needs not my Pen; but to ſtate their Right to the Crown in ſuch a Light, as may remove needleſs ſcruples of ſwearing Allegiance to them.

In the beginning of the third and laſt Paragraph, King *James* tells us, **That nothing but his own Inclinations to juſtice, could prevail with him to ſuch a Proceeding, as that of his Care of his Proteſtant Subjects in** Ireland; **and hopes his Proteſtant Subjects in** England (as he calls them) **will make a Judgment of what they may expect from him.** Indeed, it is no difficult Matter, to make a Judgment of what we may juſtly expect from him, if ever Divine Judgment, as the Reward of our Ingratitude for ſo great a Deliverance, ſhould permit us to fall again under the heavy Yoke of a Popiſh Prince, whom we have ſo juſtly and happily thrown off. King *James* is of a Religion, that has, in a famous Council, decreed, That *no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks*; much leſs with Subjects, that he looks upon, as ſo many *Rebels*; and will not miſs to treat them as ſuch,

whenever they give him the Opportunity of doing it. For his greateſt Admirers do not run to that heighth of Idolatry, to imagine him ſo much *Angel*, as not to take all Methods to revenge ſuch an Affront, and ſecure himſelf at our Coſt, from ſuch Treatment for the future. The Apprehenſions of which Reſentment, would ſtrike ſuch Terror in Men's Minds, that nothing would be capable to divert them from offering up *All*, for an Atonement; and *Popery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but ſave their Lives. Then we might lament our Miſeries, when it ſhould be out of our Power to help them; for a *Prince of* Orange, is not always ready to reſcue us, with ſo vaſt expence, and hazard of his Perſon. And I muſt ſay, if ever our Madneſs ſhould hurry us thus far, we ſhould become rather the Objects of Laughter, than of Pity.

Therefore, King *James* **promiſes and declares, That nothing ſhall ever alter his Reſolutions to purſue ſuch, and no other methods, as by his ſaid Subjects in Parliament, ſhall be found proper for their common Security, peace and happineſs.** Such ſilly bates as theſe, will not now take; and here is a great deal of Pains loſt, to perſwade us to relie upon Promiſes, ſo often made already, and as often broken. What Adjournments, Prorogations, and Diſſolutions of Parliament, we have had of late, is not eaſie to be forgotten. We have found, to our ſad Experience, that the Intereſt of the Court, and that of the People, were two incompatible things; and to endeavour a Redreſs of the leaſt Grievance, *in a Parliamentary way*, was not only a vain Attempt, but a deſign, branded with the infamous Name of *Diſſatiſfaction*

faction to the Government. I need not be at the Pains to repeat all the Promiſes made by King *James*, of the ſame Nature with this in his Declaration; and how well they were obſerved, we all know. Yet I cannot but take notice of *one*, made in his firſt Speech to his Privy-Council, an hour after his Brother's Death, printed by his own Command, in theſe Words: *My Lords, before I enter on any other, I think fit to ſay ſomething to you, ſince it has pleaſed Almighty God to place me in this Station; and I'm now to ſucceed to ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a Brother. I think fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example; and moſt eſpecially, in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power; but that is not the only thing, that has been ſaid of me: And I ſhall endeavour to preſerve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by Law eſtabliſhed. I know, the Principle of the Church of* England *is for Monarchy, and the Members thereof have ſhown themſelves good and loyal Subjects; therefore I ſhall always take care to defend and ſupport it. I know the Laws of* England *are ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wiſh: And as I ſhall never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo I ſhall never invade any Man's Property.* He that can reconcile this Speech, with King *James* his after-Actings, is the fitteſt Perſon I know, to explain the Popiſh Notion, of our Saviour's Body being in a thouſand diſtinct Places at once. In theſe Expreſſions, he takes it very unkindly to have been reported a Man for Arbitrary Power, and promiſes a great many things, that are contradictory to it; but

how well he deserved the Character, all his Conduct has made it appear, with a Witness.

We have one of the most remarkable instances of King *James*'s being against Arbitrary Power, in his Declaration of the 12*th*. of *February* $168\frac{6}{7}$. for a *Toleration in Scotland*; where we find these new coin'd Words, thrice made use of, *Our absolute Power*; with this addition, *Which all our Subjects are to obey without Reserve*. Now *Absolute*, in its natural Signification, importing the being without all ties and restraints; then, the true meaning of this, seems to be, That there is an inherent Power in the King, which can neither be restrained by Laws, Promises, nor Oaths; for nothing less, than being free from all these, renders a Power Absolute. Though the Term *Absolute* was enough to stretch our Allegiance; yet that which comes after, is yet a step of an higher Nature, tho' one can hardly imagine, what can go beyond *Absolute Power*; and 'tis in these Words, *Which all our Subjects are to obey, without Reserve.* This is, indeed, the carrying Obedience many degrees beyond what the Grand Seignior yet ever claimed; for the most despotick Princes in the World, before *Lewis le Grand*'s time, thought it enough to oblige their Subjects to submit to their Power, and to *bear* whatever they thought fit to impose upon them: But, till the fatal Days of the Dragoon-Conversions, it was never so much as pretended, that Subjects were bound to obey their Princes, *without Reserve*; and to be of his Religion, because he would have it so; the only convincing Argument used by these *booted Apostles* of late. So, without doubt, this Qualification of the Duty of Subjects, was industriously put in here by

King

King *James* his Jeſuitick Counſels, to prepare the Proteſtants of *Scotland* for a terrible *Le Roy le veut*, ſince the poor Pretenſions of Conſcience, Honour, Religion, and Reaſon, would have been reckonded as *Reſerves* upon their Obedience; which were all, by the Expreſſions, ſhut out.

Before I leave this Paramount inſtance of King *James*'s aſſuming to himſelf an *Arbitrary Power*, beyond what the Great *Turk* claims, and contrary to his own reiterated promiſes, I muſt take notice of another very *comprehenſive expreſſion* in that ſame Declaration for a Toleration in *Scotland*, and it's this. *We think fit to declare, That we will not ſuffer Violence to be offered to any Man's Conſcience, nor will we uſe force, or INVINCIBLE NECESSITY upon any Man, on the account of his Perſwaſion, nor the Proteſtant Religion.* When I firſt read theſe Words, I eaſily perceiv'd what caution was uſed in the choice of them; for it is clear, the general Words of *Violence* and *Force*, are to be explained and determined by theſe laſt, of *INVINCIBLE NECESSITY*: So that King *James* very wiſely promiſed only, to lay no invincible Neceſſity on his Subjects; but for all *Neceſſities* that were not *Invincible*, they might expect to have felt a large ſhare of them: For Diſgraces, want of Imployment, Finings, Impriſonments, and even Death it ſelf, are all *Vincible* things to a Man of a firmneſs of Mind; yea, the Violence of Torture, the Furies of Dragoons, and the Precedents uſed of late in *France*, might have been fairly included within this Promiſe, ſince a great and ſublime Soul, fortified with an extraordinary meaſure of Grace, might be able to ſupport under them.

Now,

Now, since we have had so many experiences of King *James*'s faithfulness to his Promises, before he abandoned the Government, I pray, what Arguments has he of late given us, that he will be more observing of his Word, then hitherto he has been. Sure, the reducing Hereticks to the See of *Rome*, is no less Meritorious than before; nor King *James*, by breathing a little of the *French Air*, and *concerting Measures* with *Lewis* the Fourteenth, become less Bigot.

King *James* concludes his Declaration with **assuring all his pretended Subjects, That if, within twenty Days after his appearing in person within** England, **they return to their Obedience, by deserting his Enemies, and joining with him, he will grant them his full pardon, and all past miscariages shall be forgot.** This merits no other Answer, but what has been already said: Only this, he must have the worst Opinion of the frailty of Humane Nature, that can be brought to believe, That any Man, not altogether divested of his Reason, can be prevailed with, to join King *James*, though he were in *England*, except he be of that Religion that obliges him to assist a Prince, that sets up so fairly for the Glorious Title of the *Extirpator of Heresie*; and to venture all upon the uncertainty of seeing their Church Triumphant. And if there be any of the Protestant Perswasion, so strangely infatuated, as but to wish his Return, I shall entertain them with no other Answer, but the recomending to them that place of Holy Writ, Preached upon before the House of Commons, of late, by an eminent Divine, *Ezra* 9. v. 13, 14. *And after all that is come*

upon

upon us, for our evil deeds, and for our great treſpaſs, ſeeing that thou our God haſt puniſhed us leſs than our Iniquities deſerve, and haſt given us ſuch a Deliverance as this: Should we again break thy Commandments, and joyn in affinity with the People of theſe abominations; wouldſt not thou be angry with us, till thou hadſt conſumed us, ſo that there ſhould be no remnant, nor eſcaping?

FINIS.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A Vindication of the preſent great Revolution in *England*; in five Letters paſſed betwixt *James Welwood* M. D. and Mr. *John March*, Vicar of *Newcaſtle* upon *Tyne*. Occaſioned by a Sermon preached by him on *Jan.* 30. 168$\frac{8}{9}$. before the Mayor and Aldermen, for *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*. The Second Edition.